

# The Regional Production of Red-figure Pottery: Greece, Magna Graecia and Etruria

Edited by Stine Schierup  
& Victoria Sabetai

**THE REGIONAL PRODUCTION  
OF RED-FIGURE POTTERY:  
GREECE, MAGNA GRAECIA  
AND ETRURIA**

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Boeotian red-figure pyxis. Athens,  
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*Amphora attributed to the painter  
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# Table of Contents

5	Per Kristian Madsen <b>Preface</b>	191	Stine Schierup <b>Patterns of Use in Early Metapontine Red-figure Pottery: Distribution, Shapes and Iconography</b>
7	Victoria Sabetai & Stine Schierup <b>Introduction</b>	217	E. G. D. Robinson <b>The Early Phases of Apulian Red-figure</b>
13	Victoria Sabetai <b>Sacrifice, Athletics, Departures and the Dionysiac Thiasos in the Boeotian City of Images</b>	235	Sebastiano Barresi <b>Sicilian Red-figure Vase-painting: The Beginning, the End</b>
39	Kyriaki Kalliga <b>A New Red-figure Kantharos by the Argos Painter: Contextual Study of the Pottery from the Grave of a Young Aristocrat at Haliartos, Boeotia</b>	247	Marco Serino <b>The Beginnings of Sicilian Red-figured Pottery and its Relationship with Early South Italian Productions: A Reappraisal Through the Case-study of the Himera Painter Workshop</b>
67	Alexandra Zampiti <b>Red-figure and its Relationship to the Black-figure Technique in Late Classical Boeotia: The Case of the Boeotian Kalathos-pyxis and the Bilingual Vases</b>	269	Claude Pouzadoux & Pierre Rouillard <b>From Imported Attic Vases to the First Regional Productions in Sicily: The Example of Megara Hyblaea in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries</b>
81	Christina Avronidaki <b>An Assortment of Bridal Images on a Boeotian Red-figure Pyxis from the Workshop of the Painter of the Great Athenian Kantharos</b>	279	Diego Elia <b>Local Production of Red-figure Pottery at Locri Epizephyrri: A Synthesis on the Last Decade of Studies</b>
103	Ian McPhee <b>Corinthian Red-figure Pottery: A Brief Survey</b>	291	Maurizio Harari – with an appendix by Mariachiara Franceschini <b>Out of the Tondo: The Exterior of the Clusium Cups. An Iconographical Reconsideration</b>
121	Kristine Gex <b>Red-figure and White-ground Pottery from Euboean Workshops</b>	303	Lisa C. Pieraccini & Mario A. Del Chiaro <b>Greek in Subject Matter, Etruscan by Design: Alcestis and Admetus on an Etruscan Red-figure Krater</b>
137	Jutta Stroszeck <b>Laconian Red-figure Pottery: Local Production and Use</b>	311	<b>Bibliographic abbreviations</b>
157	Anthi Aggeli <b>Red-figure Pottery of Ambracia in North-western Greece</b>	315	<b>Bibliography</b>
177	Nikos Akamatis <b>Local Red-figure Pottery from the Macedonian Kingdom: The Pella Workshop</b>	355	<b>List of Authors</b>

# The Beginnings of Sicilian Red-figured Pottery and its Relationship with Early South Italian Productions: A Reappraisal through the Case-study of the Himera Painter Workshop

BY MARCO SERINO



# The Beginnings of Sicilian Red-figured Pottery and its Relationship with Early South Italian Productions: A Reappraisal through the Case-study of the Himera Painter Workshop

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## INTRODUCTION

The revision of early Sicilian productions has constituted an excellent opportunity to re-examine the dynamics that led to the birth of red-figured pottery in Sicily. According to the most recent studies, the origin of red-figured pottery on the island was characterised by a number of productive experiences that were independent of one another and were able to satisfy the requests of various sub-regional markets.<sup>1</sup> As will be shown, evidence coming from the workshop of the Himera Painter supports this assumption. The possibility of carrying out a systematic study of the vessels attributed to the Himera Painter has allowed me to evaluate the origins of red-figured pottery in Sicily from a new perspective: in the case of Himera, in fact, it is crucial to focus on the prevalence of fragments coming from domestic areas, a rare circumstance in the finding of figured pottery in the west.<sup>2</sup> Thanks to the opportunity to integrate published data with the new evaluations emerging from the study of the workshop of the Himera Painter, it is now possible to suggest a reappraisal of the beginnings and the development of early Sicilian productions.

## THE BIRTH OF RED-FIGURED POTTERY IN SICILY: A DISTRIBUTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE EARLY LOCAL PRODUCTIONS

While attempting to reconstruct the processes that led to the birth of red-figured pottery in Sicily, it is essential to examine the findings on the island – both in terms of the works coming from Attica and those locally produced – throughout the second half of the fifth century.

Thanks to the available data it is possible to evaluate the

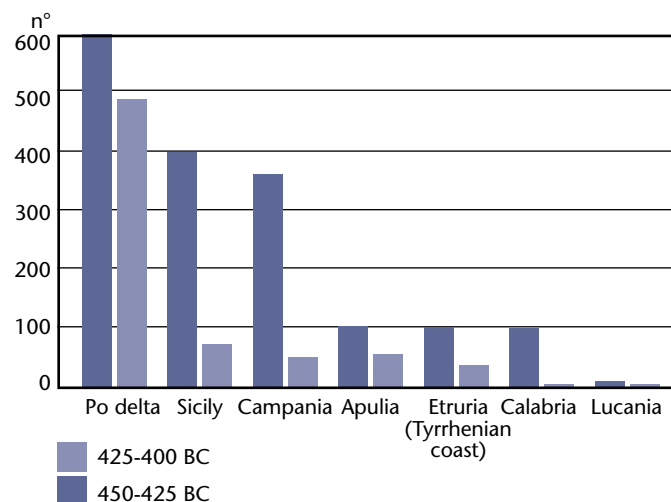


Fig. 1. Attic imports towards Magna Graecia and Sicily: comparison between the third and the last quarter of the fifth century (number of vases).

impact of the crisis of Athenian pottery on western markets and production cycles. On the basis of the information collected, we can understand how the output by the Athenian Kerameikos started to decrease significantly already in the third quarter of the fifth century: between 450 and 425 BC, for instance, 2,244 vases were produced, whereas the period between 475 and 450 BC saw the production of 3,500 specimens.<sup>3</sup>

In order to better understand these phenomena, however, it is essential to appreciate the radical changes that were taking place in the Athenian distributive patterns, and the way these affected the circulation of the products on the market.<sup>4</sup> Compared to the first half of the century, in fact, a change occurred in both the destinations reached by Attic ships and the buyers interested in figurative products. The new economic needs of the Athenians – who were increasingly worried about cereal supplies for the population<sup>5</sup> – seem to have played a crucial role in this process. The Po River delta in northern Italy, with a total of 600 Attic vases imported between 450 and 425 BC, was by far the most active market.<sup>6</sup> The second most lively market was the Sicilian one, with 398 units (Fig. 1).<sup>7</sup>

The southern coast of the island appears to have been very dynamic, in particular the poleis of Camarina, Gela, Agrigento, and Selinunte (Fig. 2), according to the opinion of the many scholars who believe that even in the Sicilian case it is possible to talk about a direct Athenian interest

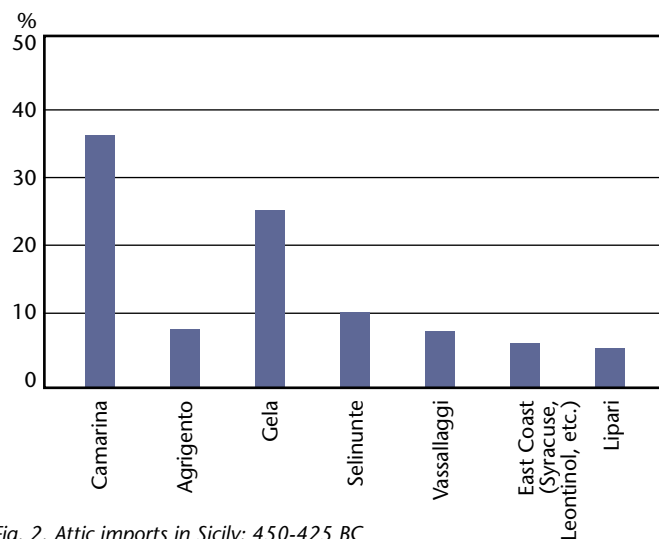


Fig. 2. Attic imports in Sicily: 450-425 BC (data in percentages).

designed to allow access to cereal supplies.<sup>8</sup> This is clearly a picture given by partial data which are constantly being updated, but it is crucial to observe how the general trend does not seem to register significant changes, and how the various updates simply confirm the data produced since the 1990s.<sup>9</sup>

The last quarter of the fifth century then confirms itself as a period characterised by a significant productive drop in the Kerameikos (to which it is possible to attribute only 700 pieces), indisputable proof of the ongoing crisis. This dramatic fall clearly also had an immediate effect on the market of Magna Graecia and, in particular, on that of Sicily. The only region capable of resisting the impact of the crisis appeared to be the Adriatic one, in particular in the area surrounding the Po River delta. Despite the fact that the quantity of vases dropped from 600 to 490 units, that area by this point tended to monopolise Attic trade, with its share rising from 26.7 to 70 per cent of all Athenian exports.<sup>10</sup> These data can be explained simply

2 The excavations in Himera – directed since 1963 by the Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Palermo – have led to the discovery of a stylistically homogeneous nucleus of red-figured pottery that has been classified from the start as Sicilian production: see Adriani *et al.* (eds.) 1970, 274-275. The study proved to be an excellent opportunity to clarify a number of issues relating to the use of red-figured pottery in domestic contexts, an aspect often overlooked in the bibliography (Serino 2013b, 390-421). The retrieval of red-figured pottery from domestic areas represents a low percentage compared to those from funerary (91 per cent), sacred (5 per cent) or productive (1 per cent) contexts (see Todisco 2012, II, 78): the data, however, are partially flawed because they do not take into account the many fragments coming from domestic areas that have often been neglected in the past, even by Trendall.

3 The first statistics related to the import of Attic pottery in Italy were offered by G. Vallet in his contribution at the Convegno di Studi Numismatici in 1967 (Vallet 1969, 225-227). Some considerations on the productivity of the Athenian Kerameikos had already been made by R. M. Cook (Cook 1959, 114-123). Those were followed in 1972 by the attempt by T. B. L. Webster to assess the quantity of red-figured vases produced by the Kerameikos: on this occasion the author highlighted the dramatic productive drop in the second half of the fifth century (Webster 1972). On the same topic, it is also worth mentioning the evaluations in Johnston 1979, 50-51; Arafat & Morgan 1989, 326-327 and Giudice 1992, 195-199.

4 Most of the data presented here come from Giudice 2007, which represents the most complete and updated work related to the 'Post-Paralipomena' project of the University of Catania. In some circumstances the information has been integrated with that available on-line on the database created by the University of Oxford (BAPD).

5 On the problem of cereal supplies in Athens, and on the role that this necessity could have played, both influencing and directing the pottery market: Cagnazzi 1990; Fantasia 1993; Anello 1996; Braccisi & Millino 2000, 115-126; Giudice 2004; Moggi 2008.

6 Giudice 2004, 187, fig. 19.

7 Imports in Apulia appear much more modest, reaching no more than 100 units. It is interesting to notice the homogeneity of the pottery landscape around Apulia, the Po River delta, and the Picentian area in the third quarter of the fifth century. Around 100 Attic works are also found in Calabria. In particular, it is worth noting the presence of 27 Attic vases in Locri in the third quarter of the fifth century (Giudice 1989, 98).

8 Braccisi 1977, 79-84; de La Genière 1989; Mannino 1997; Mannino 2004; Giudice 2004.

9 In Lucania only 10 vases have been found so far: 1 amphora, 1 lekythos and 8 between skyphoi and kraters. For a complete overview of the pottery in the region during the sixth and fifth centuries, see Roubis 1996, 90-92. On the same topic, also see Mugione 1996, 215-218. Particularly in Metaponto, archaeological findings testify to a limited regional interest in Attic figured pottery (data on Attic vases found in Metaponto are in Carter (ed.) 1998, 593-640). For Metaponto and Pisticci it is worth highlighting the precocious and significant fall in imports already between 475 and 450 BC: from around 90 vases in the first quarter of the century, to 40 in the second (Giudice 2007).

10 If we consider the data to refer solely to Attic trade in the western Mediterranean (with no regard to the Black Sea or Athens), imports towards the Adriatic area increase from 36 per cent to 69 per cent (for a general overview of these issues, see Giudice & Barresi 2003).

1 For an updated outline see Spigo 2001; Barresi 2005; Barresi 2013; Denoyelle 2008, 346-347; Denoyelle & Iozzo 2009, 165-167; Elia 2012, 101-108; Barresi, this volume. On the Locri Group – one of the case-studies best analysed in the last few years – see Barresi forthcoming; Elia forthcoming; Elia, this volume.

by looking at Athens' direct interest in the area (Fig. 3).<sup>11</sup> As previously stated, in Sicily a dramatic drop in imports was recorded in the last quarter of the fifth century, going from 398 to 71 vases (Fig. 4). The Sicilian market, after receiving 17.7 per cent of the total red-figured Athenian production in the previous 25 years, dropped to 10.1 per cent after 425 BC (Fig. 3). Despite the incompleteness and the provisional nature of these data, it is clear that the most drastic consequences of the Athenian productive crisis were experienced in the eastern and south-eastern areas of Sicily (Camarina and Gela above all). It is also interesting to notice how the south-eastern part of the island – the one where the drop is most striking – appears to be the area which, together with Himera, had the highest number of early South Italian vases imported from Magna Graecia (5 from Camarina, 2 from Gela, 1 from Avola).<sup>12</sup> It is thus possible to identify a particular trend in Sicily: that Attic imports in the centres of the south-eastern coast were – at least partially – being replaced by products of South Italian origin or by Sicilian vases, as will be shown later in this article. A similar phenomenon also unfolded on the north-western and the south-western coast, where a rich and dynamic market displaced the former one traditionally centred around Attic imports:<sup>13</sup> in Himera, for instance, the vacuum left by Attic pottery in the last quarter of the century was filled by 19 early Sicilian vases (Fig. 5; Pl. 1) and by 8 early South Italian ones (Fig. 5; Pl. 2).<sup>14</sup>

In light of these data it seems reasonable to give credence – as highlighted by F. Giudice – to the existence of a substantial difference between the market in Apulia and Lucania and that of the upper Adriatic. The first kind of market seems to have belonged to a system of occasional exchanges, determined by the individual entrepreneurship of craftsmen worried about requests of the buyers in Apulia and Lucania. On the other hand, it is possible to appreciate a direct and systematic Athenian interest in the Po River delta, owing in great part to the aforementioned need for access to food supplies. The market in Sicily, another area with considerable supplies of cereals, must have fallen into the same category as that of the Po River delta, at least in the third quarter of the fifth century.<sup>15</sup> While Athens focused on the upper Adriatic market, and perhaps, partially, on the Sicilian one, the market in Apulia and Lucania – free from Athenian monopoly – surely had to be attractive for all those potters who usually operated independently and autonomously. As they evaluated the

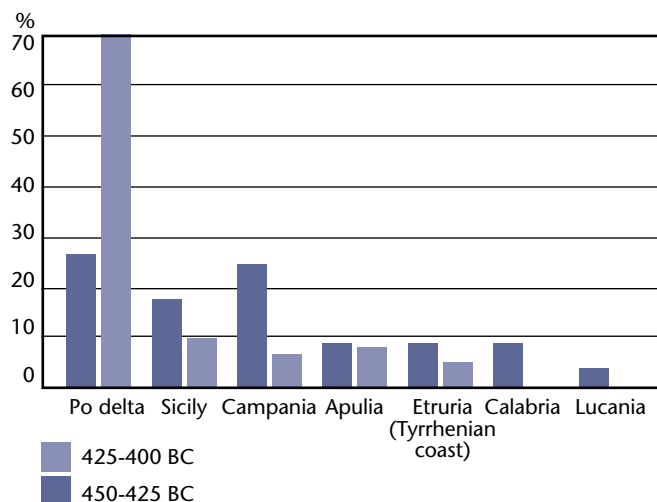


Fig. 3. Attic imports towards Magna Graecia and Sicily: comparison between the third and the last quarter of the fifth century (data in percentages).

area where they were to start their workshops, the first South Italian craftsmen (the Pisticci Painter, the Amykos Painter, the Painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl and the Sisyphus Painter) were bound to have appreciated the excellent economic possibilities of the region: on the one hand, the 'promising' prospects of indigenous buyers (from Peucetia and Messapia), and on the other, the limited Athenian competition.<sup>16</sup> Whether these were real Athenians or 'westerners' returning to the motherland, as suggested by I. Giudice Rizzo and F. Giudice,<sup>17</sup> is not a determining issue for this study. On the other hand, it is important to highlight the personal initiative of these craftsmen who, stimulated by a potentially profitable market like the one of Apulia and Lucania, begun to work in *ateliers* located in indigenous and Greek sites (Taranto and Metaponto).<sup>18</sup>

In light of these considerations, the distributive analysis of the first Sicilian red-figured vases and the identification of the areas characterised by the highest density of locally produced works allow for some interesting hypotheses. Firstly, the distribution of western Mediterranean red-figure pottery in Sicily has a few peculiarities, in particular if compared to the spread of red-figured pottery in Magna Graecia. Both in Apulia and Lucania, in fact, most of the red-figured vases were found in the indigenous centres in the hinterland.<sup>19</sup> However in Sicily, at least in the initial phase, it appears that the production of these vases was destined for the coastal areas, and more than 70 per cent



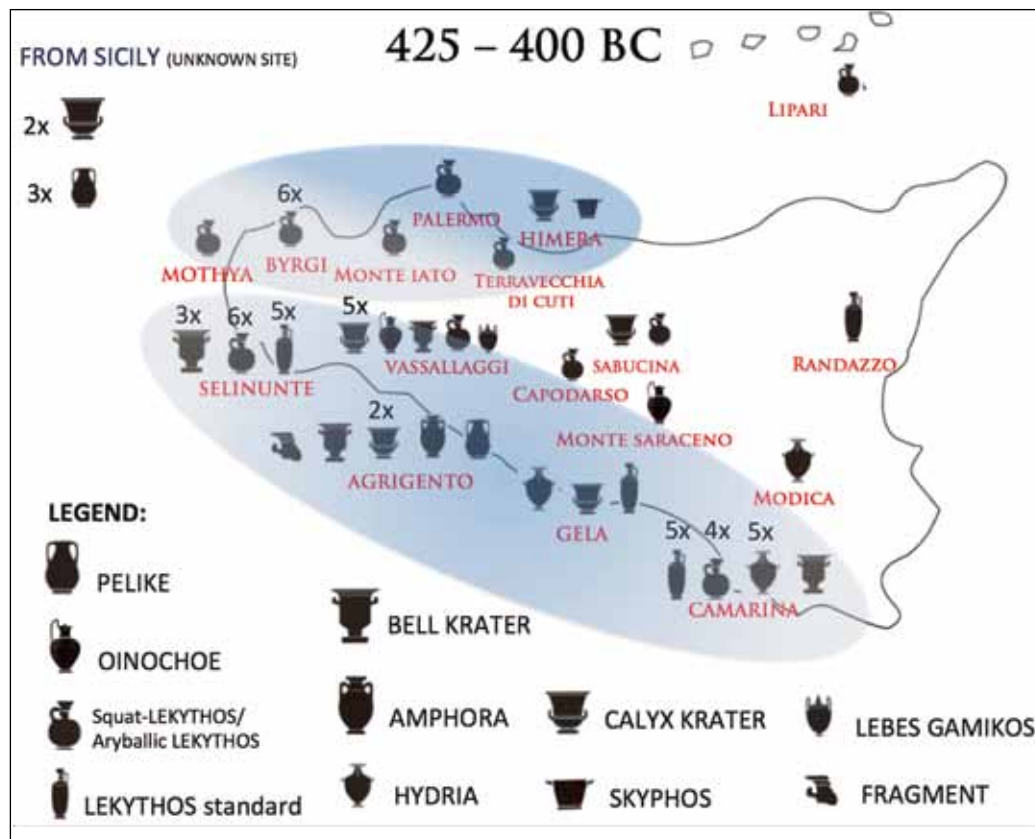


Fig. 4. Distribution map: Attic imports of red-figured pottery in Sicily (425-400 BC).

- 11 Giudice 2007, 424. Only a really small number of figured Attic vases reached Apulia in the last quarter of the fifth century. In particular, 24 pieces were found in Ruvo, 3 in Ceglie, 1 in Bari, 1 in Rudiae, 1 in Egnazia, 1 in Monte Sannace, and 1 in Canosa: see Giudice 2007, 389-390. 2 red-figured vases were found in Lucania (1 volute-krater and 1 aryballic lekythos); simultaneously, in the necropoleis around Metaponto, 25 figured vases attributed to the Pisticii Painter and to the Amykos Painter were found (Carter (ed.) 1998, 596-596 and 613-624), a clear sign of the success enjoyed by local production.
- 12 A first calculation of the products attributed to South Italian workshops found in Sicily has been made by P. Madella (see Madella 2002), though incomplete.
- 13 It is essential to highlight how both during the third quarter (with 12 vases) and during the last quarter (again with 12 vases) of the fifth century, Attic imports to the north-western Sicilian coast remained constant.
- 14 For an analysis of the South Italian and Sicilian vases in Himera, see Serino 2013b, *Catalogo*.
- 15 In the *Oeconomicus* (20,27) Xenophon declares that Sicily was considered one of the three great centres for the production of cereals in the Mediterranean. On this topic see also Pseudo-Xenophon (*Ath. Pol.* II, 7).
- 16 On the topic of the market in Apulia in the second half of the fifth century, it is also essential to highlight the issues related to the 'special commissions'. These were products by the Kerameikos that imitated

indigenous pottery. These works are considered by some merely as a commercial phenomenon determined by specific orders from locals (Jentoft-Nilsen 1990, 243-249; Burn 1991, 115; D'Andria 1988, 686; Mannino 1996, 362-363; Mannino & Roubis 2000, 67-76), while others believe they could be the result of independent Athenian initiatives, at irregular intervals and poorly appreciated by the recipients (Todisco & Sisto 1998). Despite the different interpretations, the need for some Attic craftsmen to satisfy the taste of the buyers in the regions is unquestionable. These phenomena surely lead one to believe in the existence of individual traffics in Apulia, possibly characterised by the personal initiative of the single artisans.

- 17 See Denoyelle 1997 for the hypothesis on the *ethnos* of the Pisticii Painter, as well as the recent proposal presented in Giudice & Giudice-Rizzo 2004, where the authors talk about a 'return to the motherland' for South Italian craftsmen previously settled in the Kerameikos.
- 18 Giudice & Giudice-Rizzo 2004, 138.
- 19 In De Juliis 1989, 39, the author presents statistics related to the spread of early Apulian pottery in the three areas of Apulia: 66 per cent of it is found in Peucezia, 31 per cent in Messapia, and only 3 per cent in Daunia. For the anomalous situation in Taranto, see Lippolis 1997; for an updated overview of the distribution of indigenous centres in Apulia and Lucania, see Mannino 2005; Mannino 2008. However, this general picture could be amended with the inclusion of the material from the Greek coastal colonies, where the consumption of red-figured pottery has been underestimated (see in particular the following articles Fontannaz 1996; Fontannaz 2005; Fontannaz 2014).



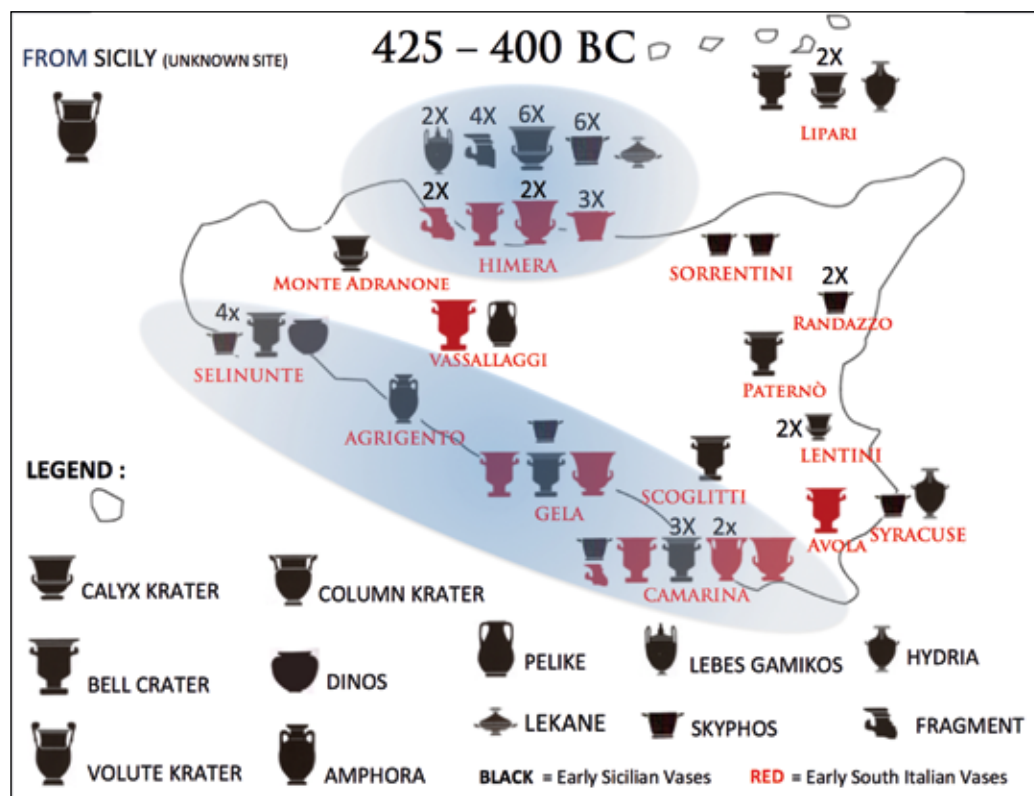


Fig. 5. Distribution map: early Sicilian and South Italian red-figure vases in Sicily (425-400 BC).

of it has been found in the Greek colonies (Fig. 5; Pl. 1).<sup>20</sup> Thus buyers were prevalently Greek, in stark contrast to the realities of Apulia and Lucania.<sup>21</sup> Even if, in the third quarter of the fifth century, Apulia and Lucania were markets full of potential and, even more, free from Athenian monopoly, the situation in Sicily was radically different. On the island, Attic pottery continued to supply the principal Greek colonial centres with extreme regularity up to the beginning of the last quarter of the fifth century. Between 450 and 425 BC, despite a productive drop of 35.9 per cent by the Kerameikos, Sicily saw a slight increase in Attic imports (rising from 360 to 398 vases). In Sicily, therefore, the Greek colonial centres managed to counteract – at least initially – the general drop of Attic exports. By the last quarter of the fifth century, however, even the Sicilian market was starting to stagnate.

Thanks to a comparison between the distribution of Attic pottery and that of the first Sicilian vases (those attributed to the Himera Painter, to the Santapaola Painter, to the Painter of Syracuse 24000, and the Locri Painter:

Pl. 1) it is clear how the areas characterised by a strong presence of early Sicilian red-figure vases and by imports of South Italian pottery (Pl. 2) coincide with those areas where, until a few years earlier, Attic products had been traded (Camarina, Gela, Agrigento, Selinunte, and the north-western coast of the island: Figs. 4-5). It is thus very plausible that red-figure pottery in Sicily originated with the crisis of the Attic market, by then chiefly focused on the Po River delta. In terms of selection of potential buyers (and therefore of areas to turn to), the first Sicilian workshops seem to have acted in continuity with the distribution of Attic products (Figs. 4-5), a pattern that in Sicily manifests itself also in the decisions related to the shape of the vases of the early Sicilian painters (Fig. 6a-b).<sup>22</sup>

The only production that – from a distributive point of view – appears to be in discontinuity with Attic tradition is that of the workshop of the Chequer Painter (Pl. 3). The products by this atelier in fact seem to be concentrated on the eastern part of the island, an area which, judging by the scarce number of Attic findings in the second half of

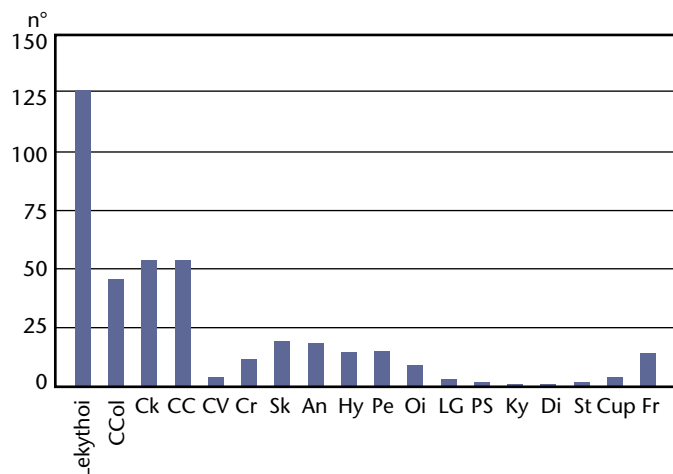


Fig. 6a. Attic imports (shapes) in Sicily: 450-425 BC (number of vases).

the fifth century, was never particularly receptive to red-figured pottery (Fig. 7).<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, it is crucial to highlight how the workshop of the Chequer Painter, from a strictly stylistic point of view, was the only Sicilian one to create evidently Atticising artefacts<sup>24</sup> (Figs. 8-9) – a rather peculiar trend when taking into consideration the limited success of Attic red-figured pottery in those areas where the products of the workshop of the Chequer Painter spread widely over the last two decades of the fifth century. The sumptuary laws observed in Syracuse around 430/420 BC can help to explain this anomaly. Some ‘limitations of luxury’ in funerary settings do in fact seem to have been applied in the Corinthian polis – as also happened in Taranto – and this could have discouraged the circulation of Attic red-figure products.<sup>25</sup> An increase in figured pottery

20 If we do not consider the very small fragments of the Chequer Painter from Paternò (Pautasso 1997, 114-126, nos. II.3, 4, 6, 14, 27, 39, 44) – which cannot be considered as 7 different vases – the percentage rises to 75 per cent.

21 Serino 2012, 113.

22 Taking into consideration the most common Attic shapes in Sicily (found in colonial centres) and the time at which these started to become scarce, it is crucial to realise how the same forms (now produced regionally) replaced Attic products. In Camarina, for instance, where bell-kraters made up 23.9 per cent of the imports between 450 and 425 BC, 4 early Sicilian bell-kraters were found out of a total of 8 vases. Observing the shape of the calyx-kraters in

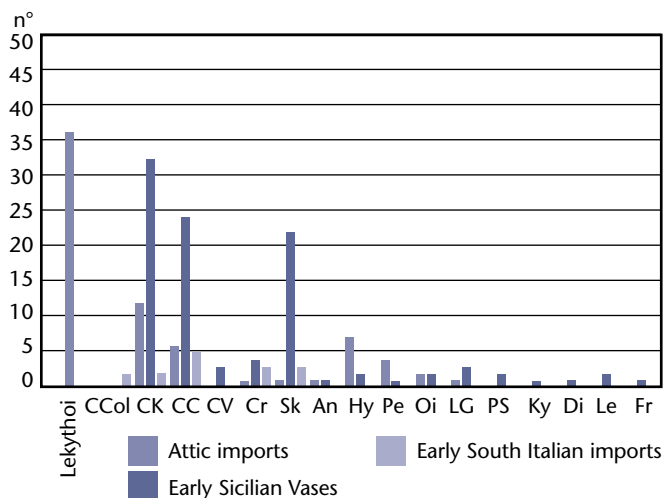


Fig. 6b. Attic imports, Early Sicilian and Early South Italian Vases (shapes) during the last quarter of the fifth century (number of vases).

the workshop of the Himera Painter, it is possible to grasp a rather obvious link with the tradition of the Attic Group of Polygnotus. Furthermore, despite the necessary caution for phenomena characterised by a limited number of findings (small representative coefficient), it is not a coincidence that in Agrigento, where an Attic dinos and an amphora were found – the only such forms found in Sicily – an early Sicilian dinos and an amphora were also found (attributed to the Locri Painter). The same can be said for the pelike, one of the most important Attic shapes in Vassallaggi (4 findings, surpassed only by the kraters), also reproduced locally (by the Locri Painter again) in the only Sicilian specimen. This fact is all the more interesting if one considers the predisposition of the Locri Painter to produce rare forms, a characteristic that he could have developed in a cultural context like that of the south-western area of the island. Lastly, it is important to highlight how all the Attic volute-kraters came from Vassallaggi and Selinunte, an area where the vases by the Locri Painter are particularly found (on the hypothesis of a localisation of the workshop in southern Sicily between the Belice and the Salso rivers see Magro & Barresi 2012, 108). For the most recent proposals on the workshop of the Locri Painter, see Elia 2005, 160; Elia 2012; Elia forthcoming; Barresi 1999; Barresi 2012; Barresi 2013; Barresi forthcoming; Spigo 2000a, 32.

23 Only 24 pieces were found on the eastern part of the island dating back to the third quarter of the fifth century, and only one lekythos dated from the last quarter of the same century.

24 See, for example, the two bell-kraters in Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Paolo Orsi, inv. 36333 and inv. 25196, where the atticising style of the Chequer Painter appears particularly evident.

25 Both in Taranto and Syracuse, kraters seem to be almost completely absent in the latter half of the fifth century, when it is possible to register a strong preference for smaller vases. For the sumptuary laws in Syracuse and Taranto see Brugnone 1992; Lippolis 1997; Frisone 2000. While in Taranto this assertion is supported by the systematic study of its necropolis (see in particular Lippolis 1997), in the case of Siracusa this is just a working hypothesis that needs to be verified through an accurate analysis of grave goods.

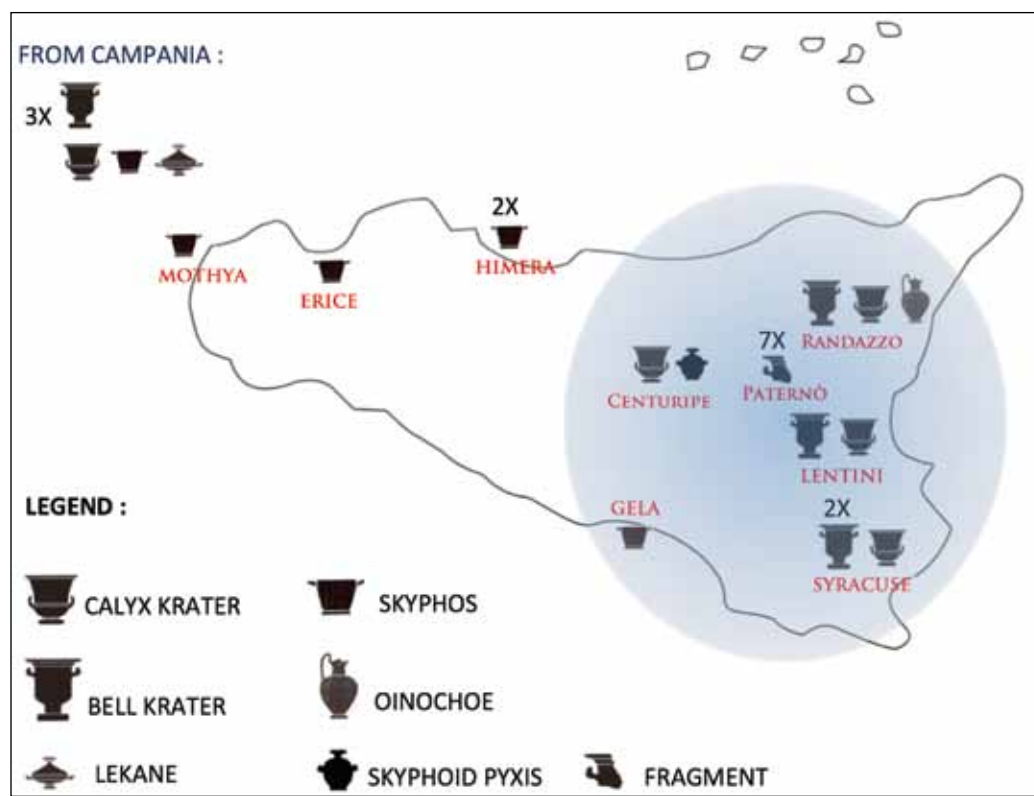


Fig. 7. Distribution map: workshop of the Chequer Painter.

in eastern Sicily (an area where these products spread with considerable rapidity) can only be seen after 420 BC, when less restrictive funerary laws probably started to be applied in Syracuse. The workshop of the Chequer Painter, with its peculiarities, is thus a tile in the complex mosaic of workshops and craftsmen that characterised the origins of Sicilian red-figured pottery.

A distributive and stylistic analysis thus shows how every workshop operating in Sicily over the last decades of the fifth century was born and developed in an independent and autonomous way, presenting characteristics aimed at satisfying local – sub-regional – markets. The workshop of the Himera Painter, in this case, surely constitutes the most emblematic reality, characterised as it is by an exclusively sub-regional distribution of its products, limited to Himera itself.

#### THE WORKSHOP OF THE HIMERA PAINTER: STYLE, ICONOGRAPHY, CHRONOLOGY

The term 'Himera Painter' was coined in the 1970s with the studies of E. Joly and A. D. Trendall on a small nucleus

of pottery – very homogeneous from a stylistic point of view – that was found in the settlement on the plateau of Himera.<sup>26</sup> After almost 40 years of what can still be considered the only systematic studies published on that Sicilian workshop, a re-examination of the principal characteristics of this productive tradition seems called for (Fig. 10).

The study of the production of the Himera Painter, not just because of the stylistic homogeneity of the artefacts but also because of the exceptionality of the context in which they were found, can allow us to put into practice some of the methodological and critical reflections developed over

<sup>26</sup> LCS I, 34-36; Joly 1972, 94.



a.



b.

Fig. 8a-b. Bell-krater from the workshop of the Chequer Painter (side A and B). Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, inv. 36333 (Photo: Marco Serino with permission of the Assessorato Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana della Regione Sicilia).



a.



b.

Fig. 9a-b. Bell-krater from the workshop of the Chequer Painter (side A and B). Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, inv. 35196 (Photo: Marco Serino with permission of the Assessorato Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana della Regione Sicilia).





Fig. 10a-b. Calyx-krater attributed to the Himera Painter (side A and B). Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H65.482 (Photo: Marco Serino with permission of the Assessorato Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana della Regione Sicilia).

the past two decades during a period that is commonly referred to as the 'post-Trendall Era'.<sup>27</sup>

A careful re-examination of Trendall's proposed stylistic classification – the obvious starting point for a systematic study of western red-figured pottery – has been integrated with new information obtained through iconographic analysis, the revision of finding contexts, and morphological studies.<sup>28</sup>

In order to outline the characteristics of the workshop in Himera it is essential to start from stylistic analysis, and to focus systematically not just on the Sicilian and the Attic tradition, but also on the more ancient workshops of Magna Graecia. In this way, it is possible to highlight important stylistic affinities between the workshop of the Himera Painter and some early South Italian traditions dated to the fifth century. These frequent stylistic references to early South Italian productions lead us to reconsider the processes that led to the birth and developments of the early Sicilian workshop of Himera. In this case it is not just

a matter of identifying generic references to South Italian pottery (recently illuminated by a number of scholars<sup>29</sup>), but rather of identifying particular figurative schemes with rare motifs, as well as specific affinities in design patterns with early workshops from Magna Graecia and Apulia. Significant design similarities with the early productions of Apulia can be found in relation to many figurative details

27 For this new phase of the studies and its definition, see Arias 1997. On the life and studies of A. D. Trendall, see McPhee 1998 and Shepherd & McPhee 2013. For a general picture of the methodological issues emerged over the past twenty years, with various approaches applied to specific case-studies, see among others: Barresi 2005; Barresi 2012; Cassimatis 1993; Denoyelle 1997; Denoyelle 2005; Denoyelle 2014; Denoyelle & Iozzo 2009; Elia 2004b; Elia 2005; Elia 2012; Giudice 2004; Lippolis (ed.) 1996; Lippolis & Mazzei 2005; Lissarrague 1989; Massa-Pairault 1999; Mugione 2000; Mugione 2005; Pontrandolfo 1986; Pontrandolfo 1997; Pontrandolfo 1999; Pontrandolfo 2007; Pouzadoux



Fig. 11a-c. (a) *The Himera Painter*. Skyphos, Himera Antiquarium, inv. H65.705. (b) *The Tarporley Painter*. Bell-krater, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 1970.237 (after Padgett 1993, pl. VI, 10). (c) *The Tarporley Painter*. Skyphos, British Museum, inv. F126 (Photo courtesy: © The Trustees of the British Museum).



Fig. 12a-e. (a) and (c) *The Painter of the Birth of Dionysos*. Volute-krater, Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 8264 (Photo: after CVA Italy 18, pl. 22.1-3). (b) and (d) *The Himera Painter*. Calyx-krater, ex-Silver collection (Photo: after Sotheby's 2000, no. 130). (e) *The Tarporley Painter*. Hydria, British Museum, inv. F94 (Photo courtesy: © The Trustees of the British Museum).

2005a; Pouzadoux 2013; Sabetai 1997; Sabetai 2009b; Sabetai 2012b; Schierup 2010; Spigo 2002. For a recent case-study in which different methodological approaches are integrated, see the re-examination of production by the Locri Group, where the combined analysis of figured products – from a stylistic, iconographic, morphological, and archaeometric point of view – allows the author to paint a detailed picture of the chronology of the workshops (Elia 2010a, *ivi* previous bibl.).

28 For a general overview of the morphological characteristics of the products by the Himera Painter, see Serino 2013b and Serino forthcoming.

29 See, for example : LCS, 106, no. 555; Joly 1972, 105; Spigo 1996b, 54-58; Spigo 2002, 265-269; de Cesare 2009a, 286; Denoyelle 2008, 341; Denoyelle & Iozzo 2009, 166-168; Todisco 2012, II, 83.



Fig. 13a-f. (a) and (d) *The Sisyphus Painter: bell-krater*, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Domenico Ridola, inv. 9978 (Photo: after Lo Porto 1973, pl. XXX.1-2). (c) *The Sisyphus Painter: bell-krater*, New York, Metropolitan Museum inv. L.63.21.5 (Photo: after RVAp I, pl. 13.1). (f) *The Sisyphus Painter: bell-krater*, Paris, Musée du Louvre inv. G493 (Photo: after CVA France 38, pl. 38.3). (b) and (e) *The Himera Painter: lebes gamikos*, Himera Antiquarium inv. H65.742.

on many vases of the workshop<sup>30</sup> (Figs. 11-14), but one of the most exemplary cases is surely that of the female figure behind the musician on the calyx-krater in the Himera Antiquarium (inv. H65.482).<sup>31</sup> In this case the character is dressed in a long chiton, clipped on the shoulders with two circular fibulas and strapped around the waist by a particular black belt, decorated with ovals alternating with a sequence of three vertical white overpainted dots (Fig. 15a).<sup>32</sup> The most immediate comparisons are with some of the characters by the Sisyphus Painter<sup>33</sup> and by the Painter of the Birth of Dionysus. In relation to this former craftsman from Magna Graecia, it is extremely significant to compare the feminine character leading the quadriga represented on one of his volute-kraters from Ruvo<sup>34</sup> (Fig. 15b) with the calyx-krater of the Himera Painter, not just because of the woman's facial traits, but also because of the way the sleeveless chiton is realised with a wide, not particularly deep neckline and a series of long folds which, starting from the fibulas on the shoulders, converge in the centre of the figure's chest (Fig. 15a).

Comparisons with early Apulian tradition – of which I mention here only the most significant example – show how the workshop of the Himera Painter can be placed

in a productive tradition strongly influenced – or rather 'educated' – by the experience of the Sisyphus Painter and, more generally, by the early Apulian one dating to 430-420 BC.<sup>35</sup> The compositions and designs by the workshop of Himera appear to be the apex of a formative path, one that was characterised by the will to try new solutions without giving up the use of models acquired in the original production sites (which, in this case, can be identified with the early Apulian ones).<sup>36</sup> Starting from a tradition that originated in Magna Graecia, this eclectic language is re-elaborated in a more autonomous figurative expression, revealing simultaneously almost no elements in common with the early Sicilian figurative heritage

30 Clear similarities with early Apulian workshops can be found between Eros on the skyphos in Himera (inv. H65.705) (Fig. 11a) and some of the figures of the Tarporley Painter. In this regard, see the scheme used for the figure of Perseus on a bell-krater held in Boston (Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 1970. 237; Fig. 11b) and, for the soft profile of the legs and pelvis, the Eros on a skyphos held at the British Museum (inv. F126; Fig. 11c). Here we can identify the same inclination of the figure's barycentre and a common design ductus



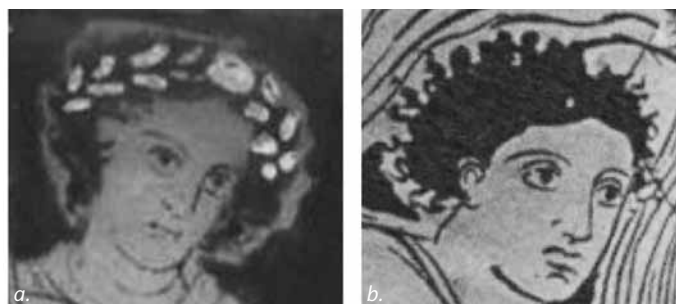


Fig. 14a-b. (a) The Himera Painter: calyx-krater, ex Nostell Priory collection (Photo: with permission of the Trendall Research Centre for Ancient Mediterranean Studies, La Trobe University, Melbourne). (b) The Sisyphus Painter: volute-krater, Warsaw, National Museum of Archaeology inv. 142296 (Photo: after ESI, pl. 21).



Fig. 15a-b. (a) The Himera Painter: calyx-krater, Himera Antiquarium inv. H65.482. (b) The Sisyphus Painter: volute-krater, Ruvo di Puglia, Museo Jatta inv. 1494 (Photo: Marco Serino with permission of Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo - Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Puglia).



Fig. 16a-c. (a) The Himera Painter: calyx-krater, Himera Antiquarium inv. H65.482. (b) The Painter of Tarquinia 707: column-krater, Portland Art Museum inv. 36.137 (Photo: after LIMC VII, s.v. Orpheus, no. 23). (c) The Agrigento Painter: column-krater, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 14739 (Photo: after LIMC VII, s.v. Orpheus, no. 22).

that characterises and defines the nudity of the characters. For other details, compare the faces of the characters on the principal side of the krater of Los Angeles (former Arthur Silver Collection; Fig. 12b, d) with those on the eponymous krater by the Painter of the Birth of Dionysos (Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 8264; Fig. 12a, c, e). Furthermore, the faces on two lebetes gamikoi (Himera Antiquarium, inv. H65.742 and inv. H65.552,2) call to mind the style of the Sisyphus Painter; of particular significance are the comparisons between the face of the female character on the right of the first lebes (Fig. 13b) and the figures on a bell-krater from Pisticci (Matera, Museo Archeologico Domenico Ridola, inv. 9978; Fig. 13a, d), and also the stylistic affinities with the head of the male character on a krater held in New York (Metropolitan Museum, inv. L.63.21.5; Fig. 13c) and with the face of the character with himation on the secondary side of a bell-krater held at the Louvre (inv. G493; Fig. 13f). For the faces at three-quarter view, see the similarities between the face of Olympus on the calyx-krater of the former Nostell Priory (Fig. 14a) and that by the Sisyphus Painter on the volute-krater inv. 142296 in Warsaw (Fig. 14b).

- 31 Despite what was argued by A. D. Trendall and later supported by M. de Cesare (de Cesare 2009a, 286, no. 33), the stylistic similarities between the woman with a spear on calyx-krater inv. H65.482 and the female figures by the Locri Painter on the pelike and dinos of Selinunte, are not particularly convincing (LCS III, 96: 'In style [ . . . ] the connection [ . . . ]'): the differences between the two products are in fact particularly evident in the design.
- 32 Only traces on the black glaze are now preserved.
- 33 See the B-side of the volute-krater in Warsaw, inv. 142296: *RVAp* I, 16, no. 53.
- 34 The figure is near the bottom end of the vase in Ruvo, Museo Jatta, inv. 1494: *RVAp* I, 35, no. 7; Andreassi 1996, 114-115. For an updated overview of the production of the Painter of the Birth of Dionysus, see Fontannaz 2005, 142.
- 35 For a more detailed overview of the stylistic similarities between the workshop of the Himera Painter and early Apulian design tradition, see Serino 2013b; Serino forthcoming.
- 36 On the internal organisation of the workshop of the Himera Painter, see Serino 2013b, 125-153.



Fig. 17a-b. Bell-krater attributed to the Painter of Syracuse 24000. Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi, inv. 19442 (Photo: Marco Serino with permission of the Assessorato Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana della Regione Sicilia).

of the fourth century. It is important to highlight that the principal characteristics of early Sicilian red-figured pottery are absent in the work of the Himera Painter, something that disproves any attempt to describe the formation and origins of the Himera Painter within this regional tradition.<sup>37</sup>

On top of the stylistic characteristics, the links between the workshop of the Himera Painter and the figurative tradition of Apulia and Lucania are also shown by the iconographic analysis of the scenes depicted. The choice by the Himera Painter to develop particular iconographic themes, but also his adoption of peculiar solutions influenced by early South Italian compositions, allow a further delineation of the links between the Sicilian workshop and the productive centres of Magna Graecia.<sup>38</sup>

Going back to the calyx-krater (Himera, inv. H65.482), the three-quarters view of the figure of Orpheus is in itself a novelty in the western pottery tradition of the fifth century (Fig. 10). The links between the workshop of the Himera Painter and the early Apulian traditions can be further traced in the scheme used for the figure of Orpheus. This

scheme in fact enjoyed remarkable success in the Apulian figurative tradition from the early fourth century,<sup>39</sup> and this is significant if one considers that this was the environment in which the Himera Painter was probably formed.

Another element to take into account is the iconographic selection: a satyr and an armed female figure are in fact on the scene alongside Orpheus. These characters associated with the figure of Orpheus are absent from western pottery, but appear with relative frequency on Attic products from the second half of the fifth century, thus highlighting how the Himera Painter followed a tradition fully established in the fifth century (fig. 16), trying to innovate it through new and original figurative solutions.<sup>40</sup>

Even if, therefore, it should be noted on the one hand that all these clues are also capable of interpretation as the result of the derivation from common Attic models, at present, in my opinion, there are no convincing comparisons to be found in this regard. The new evidence therefore encourages us to take into account, and to examine in depth, the hypothesis of the Apulian origin of the Himera Painter.



Fig. 18a-c. (a) *The Sisyphus Painter*. Bell-krater, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. G493 (Photo: after CVA France 38, pl. 38.2). (b) *The Painter of Syracuse 24000*. Bell-krater, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi (Photo: Marco Serino with permission of the Assessorato Beni Culturali e dell'Identità Siciliana della Regione Siciliana). (c) *The Hearst Painter*: calyx-krater, Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale, inv. R178A (Photo: after CVA Italy 72, pl. 12.1).

As for the new chronology of this production, on the basis of published excavation data and in light of the review of the discovery contexts, it is possible to state that the fragments attributed to the workshop of the Himera Painter come, in most cases, from the levels of destruction related to the Carthaginian invasion of 409 BC.

One of the most important and best documented cases is that of a pit found in room 15 of Block 2, in Zone II of District II, where the stratigraphic succession obtainable from the available data arguably allows us to date the findings to the last quarter of the fifth century. An accumulation of debris and bricks, in which a coin from Reggio<sup>41</sup> that can be dated to the last twenty years of the fifth century was also found, allowed the uncovering of a circular hole filled with grey dirt full of ash and combustion remains, of a diameter of 2.90 m. Inside this hole a number

have thus far been found for the Santapaola Painter or the Himera Painter' (Barresi 2013, 212)

38 For a particular iconographic analysis of the vases produced by the workshop of the Himera Painter see Serino 2014; Serino forthcoming.

39 See for example a volute-krater attributed to the Painter of the Birth of Dionysus in Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 54959: Fontannaz 2005, 142; Schauenburg 1984, 367, pl. 109,1. See also a fragment from a krater in Ruvo, Museo Jatta: LIMC VII, s.v. *Orpheus*, no. 83; and a volute-krater attributed to the Darius Painter in Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 81666: LIMC VII, s.v. *Orpheus*, no. 73.

40 For the presence of the musician in the company of the satyr see the column-krater of the Painter of Tarquinia 707 in Portland Art Museum, inv. 36 137: LIMC VII, s.v. *Orpheus*, no. 23; and the column-krater of the Painter of Agrigento in Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 146739: LIMC VII, s.v. *Orpheus*, no. 22; as well as a fragment of a bell-krater datable to around 430 BC in Corinth, Archaeological Museum, inv. 1934,380: LIMC VII, s.v. *Orpheus*, no. 24. For an interpretation from a 'peaceful' viewpoint of the myth of Orpheus - characterised by the presence of armed and orientally dressed people participating only as spectators and fascinated by the bewitching music - see, for example, the column-krater by the Orpheus Painter in Berlin, Archaeological Museum, inv. VI3172; LIMC VII, s.v. *Orpheus*, no. 9; and the bell-krater by the Painter of London E497 in Metropolitan Museum, inv. 1924.97.30. For a diachronic evolution of the iconography of Orpheus on red-figured vases see Isler Kerenyi 2009b. Some case-studies related to the figure of Orpheus are also analysed in de Cesare 2009b.

41 Adriani et al. (eds.) 1970, 375, no. 72 (inv. 65.700).

37 On the development of a Sicilian tradition see Spigo 1987 and Spigo 2002, in particular 269. On this aspect also see the recent argument by S. Barresi: 'it is interesting to note that, of all these different experiences, only that of the atelier of the Chequer Painter had any sort of continuity on the island [...] no stylistic followers



of ceramic artefacts were found, including two skyphoi attributed to the workshop of the Himera Painter, skyphoi which today, thanks to new studies, we can date to the last twenty years of the fifth century. The overview of excavation data, like the previous one, therefore – coupled with stylistic, iconographic and shape-study evaluations – contributes to the definition of the characteristics and the chronology of one of the most ancient Sicilian red-figured pottery workshops.<sup>42</sup> Thus it is now possible to date the workshop of the Himera Painter to the last two decades of the fifth century, despite E. Joly and A. D. Trendall's argument dating it to the early fourth century.<sup>43</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

The case-study of the workshop of the Himera Painter, coupled with an evaluation of the distribution of red-figured products in Sicily during the second half of the fifth century, can contribute to explaining the 'delay' in the appearance of the first Sicilian workshops in comparison to their counterparts in Magna Graecia. It also allows us better to understand and define the origins of those productive centres that brought red-figured pottery to the island.

The gap between the first productions of Magna Graecia and the Sicilian ones<sup>44</sup> – now reduced by 15-20 years compared to the previous hypotheses<sup>45</sup> – could be attributed to regular Attic imports, until around 430-425 BC. In a similar market, the craftsmen who decided to contribute to the creation of workshops specialised in the production of figured vases in the west probably saw no need to settle in the Po River delta or in Sicily (markets which by 440-430 BC were saturated with Attic vases); and they had good reason to opt for less-supplied areas with limited competition, where local populations could show adequate demand. Around 430-420 BC, Sicily saw its market freeing up from Attic imports. Some early South Italian craftsmen, fully aware of the new Sicilian situation (the strength of the lines of communication between Magna Graecia and Sicily is also demonstrated by the importation of a number of red-figured South Italian vases: Fig. 5, pl. 2), could have moved from Apulia and Lucania to areas that could ensure a profitable market. It was in this way, probably, that the first red-figured pottery workshops came into being.

Hints of these movements could lie in the artistic formation of the Himera Painter in Apulia. The stylistic similarities between the Painter of Syracuse 24000 (Pl. 1) and the early Apulian design tradition (in particular that

of the Hearst and the Sisyphus Painters) could also, in my opinion, be considered further proof – as can be seen by the figurative scheme adopted by the winged figure on the eponymous krater of the early Sicilian painter, where he uses the same scheme as that used for the winged figures on a bell-krater by the Sisyphus Painter and on a calyx-krater by the Heart Painter (Figs. 17-18). Once having gained experience and satisfied market demands, some potters from Magna Graecia could have thus taken their autonomous initiatives – of an entirely individual character<sup>46</sup> – in moving to those areas of southern Italy and Sicily where Attic imports had dropped.<sup>47</sup>

The development of the workshop of the Chequer Painter, however, did not follow this pattern, constituting an anomaly in the Sicilian productive landscape. Right now, the idea that Syracuse itself could have played an active role in the workshop's development appears an enticing hypothesis. An Attic craftsman – very close in style to the Meidias Painter – could in fact have been brought to the city to start up a new production of red-figured vases, following the example of other contemporary local productions such as those spread around Camarina, Agrigento, Selinunte and Himera. The direct interest of Syracuse could also justify the rapid diffusion of this production: with more than 40 artefacts (Pl. 3), it clearly established itself as the most important and successful Sicilian workshop,<sup>48</sup> in contrast to what we can affirm for the other early Sicilian productions with their limited, short and autonomous experience, as is proven by the case-study of the Himera Painter and his workshop.

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## ABBREVIATIONS FOR PLATES AND FIGURES

### (VESSEL SHAPES):

CK = Calyx-krater

CC = Bell-krater

CV = Volute-krater

CCol = Column-krater

Cr = Krater

Sk = Skyphos

Ky = Kylix

LG = Lebes Gamikos

Le = Lekane

Lekythoi = standard/aryballic/squat-lekythos

Hy = Hydria

Oi = Oenochoe

Pe = Pelike

PS = Skyphoid Pyxis

Di = Dinos

An = Amphora

Fr = Fragment

- 
- 42 For an in-depth study of find-contexts and also for the shape characteristics of the Sicilian artefacts, see Serino 2013b ; Serino forthcoming.
- 43 Adriani *et al.* (eds.) 1970, 268. A research team from the University of Palermo led by Professor Nunzio Allegro is now working on the revision of the chronology of the site, contributing to identifying 409 BC as the *terminus ante quem* for the origin of the workshop of the Himera Painter. This revision is continuously pointing to elements that disprove the hypothesis of a resettlement on the plateau of Himera after 409 BC. Already in 1997, N. Allegro argued that the houses on the plateau of Himera were definitely abandoned or at most sporadically used (see Allegro 1997, 77-80). The author recently reiterated this assumption in Allegro *et al.* (eds.) 2008, 10.
- 44 Usually the beginning of Sicilian production is situated between 410 and 400 BC, thirty years before the first workshops in Magna Graecia (see Denoyelle & Iozzo 2009, 165-167).
- 45 The dating to the fifth century seems acceptable - on the basis of the stylistic similarities encountered with direct analysis of the majority of the Sicilian products – even for all other early Sicilian workshops. On this topic see Spigo 1996b; Spigo 2002; Elia 2012; Barresi 2013.
- 46 On the issue of mediation in the trade of figured pottery in the West, see Johnston 1979; Johnston 2006; Bresson 2003, and also the many contributions presented at the recent conference held at the University of Brussels (Tsingarida & Viviers 2013). On the role played by individual initiative in the process that led to the birth of the first Western workshops, also see Lippolis 2008 (in particular 356-357) and his work in Lippolis forthcoming.
- 47 For quantitative data on both Attic and Western pottery, see among others Madella 2002; Giudice & Barresi 2003; Giudice 2004; Giudice 2007.
- 48 In light of the finding of two artefacts that can be attributed to the Chequer Painter on the plateau of Himera (below the city destruction levels), 409 BC constitutes a valid *terminus ante quem* for both the Chequer and the Himera Painters (see Serino 2013b, 164-167).

n°	Shape	List of Vases: Current Location (Museum/Storeroom/Private Collection) and Selected Bibliography (Trendall/post-Trendall references)	From
<b>WORKSHOP OF THE HIMERA PAINTER</b>			
1	CK	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H65.482 (LCS I, 35, no. 25f, pl. VII,4)	Himera
2	CK	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H65.481 (LCS I, 34, no. 25e, pl. VII,3)	Himera
3	CK	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H65.480a (LCS I, 34, no. 24d)	Himera
4	CK	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H67.550 (LCS I, 35, no. 25g)	Himera
5	CK	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H65.484 (LCS I, 35, no. 25h)	Himera
6	CK	Current Location unknown; ex Arthur Silver collection, Los Angeles (LCS I, 35, no. 25j, pl. VIII,1)	prov. unknown
7	CK	Current Location unknown; ex Nostell Priory collection (LCS I, 36, no. 25l; Serino 2013b, figs. 1-2)	prov. unknown
8	CC	Sydney, Nicholson Museum, inv. 46.45 (LCS I, 36, no. 25k)	prov. unknown
9	Cr	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H71.1033,6 (Allegro <i>et al.</i> (eds.) 1976, 509, no. 1; Serino 2013b, no. Cr1-Hi9)	Himera
10	Cr	Himera, Antiquarium (Allegro, Parello & Chiovaro 2009, 619, fig. 4,6)	Himera
11	LG	Himera Antiquarium, inv. H65.742 + (H65.742,2-3) (Joly 1972, 95, no. 9, pl. LI,1-2)	Himera
12	LG	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H65.552,2 + (H65.739,3-4) + (H65.742,4) (Adriani <i>et al.</i> (eds.) 1970, 282, no. 13; 283, no. 20, pl. LXXII, 3, 5; Serino 2013b, no. LG2-Hi12)	Himera
13	Sk	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H65.705 (LCS I, 35, no. 25i)	Himera
14	Sk	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H65.705,2 (Joly 1972, 95, no. 7, pl. XLIX,2)	Himera
15	Sk	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H65.483 (Adriani <i>et al.</i> (eds.) 1970, 282, no. 11, pl. LXXI,2)	Himera
16	Fr	Himera, Antiquarium (Serino 2013b, no. Fr1-Hi16)	Himera
<b>WORKSHOP OF THE HIMERA PAINTER / WORKSHOP OF THE SANTAPAOLA PAINTER</b>			
17	Sk	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H71.909,2 (Allegro <i>et al.</i> (eds.) 1976, 287, no. 32, pl. XLV,4; Serino 2013b, no. Sk26)	Himera
<b>WORKSHOP OF THE SANTAPAOLA PAINTER</b>			
18	CK	Lentini, Archaeological Museum, inv. 61534 (LCS I, 34, no. 25a, pl. VII, 1-2)	Lentini
19	CK	Lipari, Archaeological Museum, inv. 11555 (Bernabo Brea & Cavalier 1991, 123-124, figs. 152-155)	Lipari
20	CK	Catania, Civic Museum (Barresi & Valastro 2000, 136-137, fig. 104)	prov. unknown
21	CK	Chicago, private collection (LCS I, 34, no. 25b)	prov. unknown
22	CK	Current Location unknown (LCS III, 98, no. 46, pl. XI, 3-4; Serino 2013b, no. CK28)	prov. unknown
23	CK	Lipari, Archaeological Museum, inv. 11839 (LCS III, 95, no. 34)	Lipari
24	CK	Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, inv. 37172 (LCS I, 34, no. 25c)	Lentini
25	CK	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H67.533,1 + (H67.515,1; H67.247,2; H67.516,3; H68.533,18) (Allegro, Parello & Chiovaro 2009, 118-119, no. 998, pls. XL, XLIX; Serino 2013b, no. CK31-Sa16)	Himera
26	CK	Caltagirone, Museo della Ceramica, inv. 5491 (CVA Italy 76, 151-152, pl. 73) (by G. Giudice)	prov. unknown
27	CC	Ragusa, Archaeological Museum, inv. 21254 (Spigo 2002, 277, 284, fig. 13)	Camarina
28	Sk	Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, inv. 56961 (Spigo 2002, fig. 11-12)	Syracuse
29	Sk	Roman Villa of Patti Marina, Antiquarium's storesrooms (Spigo 2002, 283, figs. 7-10)	Sorrentini
30	Sk	Roman Villa of Patti Marina, Antiquarium's storesrooms (Spigo 2002, 283, fig. 7)	Sorrentini
31	Sk	Naples, private collection ( <i>Studien zur Unteritalischen Vasenmalerei</i> VI, 13, abb. 9, a-c; Serino 2013b, no. Sk14-Sa15)	prov. unknown
32	Hy	Lipari, Archaeological Museum, inv. 9364A (LCS III, 95, no. 36)	Lipari
33	Le	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H65.445 + H65.797 (Adriani <i>et al.</i> (eds.) 1970, 280, no. 5-6; Serino 2013b, no. Le2-Sa11)	Himera
34	Cr	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H71.1102,2 (Serino 2013b, no. Cr3-Sa7)	Himera
<b>PAINTER OF SYRACUSE 24000</b>			
35	CC	Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, inv. 24000 (LCS, 200, no. 23)	Camarina
36	CC	Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, inv. 14627 (LCS, 200, no. 24)	Scoglitti
37	CC	Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, inv. 19442 (LCS, 201, no. 25)	Camarina
38	CC	Current Location unknown (LCS III, 95, no. 31)	prov. unknown

Pl. 1. List of Vases: Early Sicilian Red-figured Pottery.

To be continued on the next page

■ Post-Trendall attribution

■ Known provenance

<i>n°</i>	<i>Shape</i>	<i>List of Vases: Current Location (Museum/Storeroom/Private Collection) and Selected Bibliography (Trendall/post-Trendall references)</i>	<i>From</i>
<b>LOCRI GROUP (SICILIAN FINDINGS)</b>			
39	CK	Soprintendenza's storerooms (?), (unpublished; Spigo 2002, 287, no. 3; Elia 2010a, 178, no. CK1, Barresi forthcoming)	Monte Adranone
40	CC	Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, inv. 36465 ( <i>LCS</i> III, 31; <i>CVA</i> Italy 17, pl. 10,3)	Gela
41	CC	Palermo, Archaeological Museum, inv. 57/O710 ( <i>LCS</i> III, 30, no. 375b)	Selinunte
42	CC	Current Location unknown ( <i>LCS</i> III, 163, no. 375a, pl. XXXI, 3-4)	prov. unknown
43	CV	Switzerland, private collection (Schauenburg 1994, 117-123, figs. 1-3; Elia 2010a, 179, no. CV1; Barresi forthcoming)	prov. unknown
44	CV	Current Location unknown ( <i>LCS</i> III, 30, no. 375d, pl. V, 1-3)	prov. unknown
45	CV	Palermo, Archaeological Museum, inv. 2226 ( <i>LIMC</i> Suppl. 2009, s.v. Hermes/Turms, 280, FI (by M. Harari); Barresi forthcoming)	Sicily
46	Cr	Current Location unknown (Barresi forthcoming)	prov. unknown
47	Sk	Palermo, Mormino collection – Banco di Sicilia, inv. 881 (Barresi 1992, 203, no. G1)	Selinunte (?)
48	Sk	Palermo, Mormino collection – Banco di Sicilia, inv. 887 (Barresi 1992, 203, no. G2)	Selinunte (?)
49	Sk	Palermo, Mormino collection – Banco di Sicilia, inv. 3090 (Barresi 1992, 203, no. G3)	Selinunte
50	Sk	Palermo, Mormino collection – Banco di Sicilia, inv. 1959 (Barresi 1992, 204, no. G4)	Selinunte
51	Sk	Gela (Santostefano forthcoming)	Gela
52	Sk	Current Location unknown (Di Vita 1983, 46, fig. 36d)	Camarina
53	Sk	Randazzo, Vagliasindi collection, inv. R739 (Magro & Barresi 2012, 105-109, fig. 12)	Randazzo
54	Sk	Randazzo, Vagliasindi collection, inv. R740 (Magro & Barresi 2012, 105-109, fig. 12)	Randazzo
55	Pe	Palermo, Archaeological Museum, inv. 1723 ( <i>LCS</i> III, 30, no. 376a)	Vassallaggi
56	Di	Palermo, Archaeological Museum, inv. 57/O711 ( <i>LCS</i> III, 30, no. 375c)	Selinunte
57	An	Palermo, Archaeological Museum, inv. 2170 ( <i>LCS</i> III, 30, no. 376)	Agrigento
58	Hy	Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, inv. 35187 ( <i>LCS</i> III, 31, no. 379)	Syracuse
<b>EARLY SICILIAN VASES OF UNCERTAIN ATTRIBUTION</b>			
59	CC	Lipari, Archaeological Museum, inv. 11106 (Bernabo Brea & Cavalier 1991, 104-105, figs. 144, 149; Serino 2013b, no. CC22)	Lipari
60	CC	Paternò, Antiquarium (Spigo 2002, 271, 279, fig. 5; Serino 2013b, no. CC23)	Paternò
61	CC	Syracuse, Archaeological Museum ( <i>CVA</i> Italy 17, pl. 23,1; Serino 2013b, no. CC24)	prov. unknown
62	An	Naples, Archaeological Museum (Pontrandolfo 1996, 37-40, figs. 6-7; Serino 2013b, no. An2)	Castelcapuano

Pl. 1. List of Vases: Early Sicilian Red-figured Pottery.

- Post-Trendall attribution
- Known provenance



<i>n°</i>	<i>Shape</i>	<i>List of Vases:Current Location (Museum/Storeroom/Private Collection) and Selected Bibliography (Trendall/post-Trendall references)</i>	<i>From</i>
EARLY SOUTH-ITALIAN PRODUCTION IMPORTED IN SICILY			
I	CK	Palermo, Archaeological Museum, inv. 2179, Hearst Painter ( <i>RVAp</i> I, 11, no. 22)	Gela
II	CC	Agrigento, Archaeological Museum, inv. R177, Anabates Painter ( <i>LCS</i> , 96, no. 501, pl. 47, 1-2)	Gela
III	CC	Gela, Archaeological Museum, inv. 9241, Painter of Berlin Dancing Girl ( <i>RVAp</i> I, 6, no. 2)	Vassallaggi
IV	CC	Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, inv. 24868, Mesagne Painter ( <i>LCS</i> , 78, no. 397)	Camarina
V	CCol	Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, inv. 24868, Mesagne Painter, ( <i>LCS</i> , 78, no. 396)	Camarina
VI	CK	Ragusa, Archaeological Museum, coll. Caratello, Mesagne Painter (Barresi & Giudice 2011, 44-46, figs. 3-4)	Camarina
VII	CCol	Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, inv. 22912, Tarporley Painter ( <i>RVAp</i> I, 52, no. 59)	Camarina
VIII	Cr	Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, inv. 24884, Pisticci Painter ( <i>LCS</i> , 24, no. 79)	Camarina
IX	CC	Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, inv. 16034, Anabates Painter ( <i>LCS</i> , 96, no. 505)	Avola
X	Sk	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H71.821, early South-Italian production (Adriani <i>et al.</i> (eds.) 1970, 282, no. 11, pl. LXXI,2; Serino 2013b, no. Sk22)	Himera
XI	Sk	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H73.181, early South-Italian production (Allegro <i>et al.</i> (eds.) 1976, 286, no. 30, pl. XLV,3; Serino 2013b, no. Sk23)	Himera
XII	Sk (?)	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H67.632,1c + (H73.129), Sisyphus Painter (?) (Joly 1972, 95, no. 8, pl. L, 1-2; Serino 2013b, no. Sk(?)24)	Himera
XIII	CK	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H72.505 + (H72.516), Hearst Painter (Allegro <i>et al.</i> (eds.) 1976, 284, no. 8, pl. XLV, 6; Serino 2013b, no. CK33)	Himera
XIV	CK	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H71.1122, close to Tarporley Painter/Painter of the Birth of Dionysos (Serino 2013b, no. CK34)	Himera
XV	CC	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H71.781 + (H71.786,1), Cyclops Painter (Allegro <i>et al.</i> (eds.) 1976, p. 284, no. 9, pl. XLV,8; Serino 2013b, no. CC25)	Himera
XVI	Cr	Himera, Antiquarium, early South-Italian production (Adriani <i>et al.</i> (eds.) 1970, 280, no. 3-4; Serino 2013b, no. Cr5)	Himera
XVII	Cr	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H71.228,1, early South-Italian production (Allegro <i>et al.</i> (eds.) 1976, 509, no. 6, pl. LXXXII, 1-2; Serino 2013b, no. Cr6)	Himera

Pl. 2. List of early South Italian Red-figured Vases imported in Sicily.

■ Post-Trendall attribution

■ Known provenance

■ New early South Italian Vases in Sicily (updating Madella 2002)

n°	Shape	List of Vases: Current Location (Museum/Storeroom/Private Collection) and Selected Bibliography (Trendall/post-Trendall references)	From
<b>WORKSHOP OF THE CHEQUER PAINTER</b>			
63	CK	Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, inv. 11022 (LCS, 197, no. 1, pl. 78,1)	prov. unknown
64	CK	London, British Museum, inv. F37 (LCS, 197, no. 2, pl. 78,2)	prov. unknown
65	CK	Palermo, Archaeological Museum, inv. 2199 (LCS, 197, no. 3)	Randazzo
66	CK	Palermo, Mormino collection - Banco di Sicilia, inv. 285 (LCS, 197, no. 4, pl. 78,4)	prov. unknown
67	CK	Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. 11 (LCS, 198, no. 5, pl. 79, 1-2)	prov. unknown
68	CK	Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, inv. 36209 (LCS, 198, no. 6)	Syracuse
69	CK	Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, inv. 37171 (LCS, 198, no. 7)	Lentini
70	CK	Catania, Museo Civico, inv. 4192 (LCS, 198, no. 8)	prov. unknown
71	CK	Catania, Università degli Studi, inv. 9421 (LCS, 198, no. 9)	Centuripe
72	CK	Vatican City, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, inv. U51 (LCS, 198, no. 10, pl. 78,3)	prov. unknown
73	CK	Montesarchio, Archaeological Museum (LCS III, 93, no. 12)	Montesarchio
74	CK	Naples, private collection ( <i>Studien zur Unteritalischen Vasenmalerei</i> II, 29, abb. 93-96)	prov. unknown
75	CK	Current Location unknown (Serino 2013a, no. CK20-Sc13)	prov. unknown
76	CK	Current Location unknown (Trendall 1992, 301-305, pl. 66, figs. 1-2)	prov. unknown
77	CK	Current Location unknown (Trendall 1992, 301-305, pl. 66, figs. 3-4)	prov. unknown
78	CK	Naples, private collection ( <i>Studien zur Unteritalischen Vasenmalerei</i> II, 29, abb. 97)	prov. unknown
79	CC	Benevento, Museo del Sannio, inv. 348XX (LCS III, 93, no. 14)	Montesarchio
80	CC	Benevento, Museo del Sannio, inv. 348XXI (LCS III, 93, no. 13)	Montesarchio
81	CC	Zurich, private collection (Barresi 2002a, figs. 1-3)	Campania (?)
82	CC	Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, inv. 11030 (LCS, 198, no. 12)	prov. unknown
83	CC	Naples, Archaeological Museum, inv. 146717 (LCS, 198, no. 11, pl. 79,3)	Castelcapuano
84	CC	Paris, BnF - Cabinet des Médailles, inv. 927 (LCS, 199, no. 13)	prov. unknown
85	CC	Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, inv. 35196 (LCS, 200, no. 19)	Syracuse
86	CC	Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, inv. 36333 (LCS, 200, no. 20)	Syracuse
87	CC	Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, inv. 37059 (LCS, 200, no. 21)	Lentini
88	CC	Palermo, Archaeological Museum (LCS, 200, no. 22)	Randazzo
89	CC	Cambridge (Mass.), private collection (Trendall 1992, 301-305, pl. 67, figs. 1-2)	prov. unknown
90	CC	Current Location unknown (Trendall 1992, 301-305, pl. 67, figs. 3-4)	prov. unknown
91	Sk	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 03.824 (LCS, 199, no. 14, pl. 79,4)	Campania
92	Sk	Syracuse, Archaeological Museum, inv. 9359 (LCS, 199, no. 16)	prov. unknown
93	Sk	Gela, Archaeological Museum (LCS, 199, no. 17)	Gela
94	Sk	Mothia, Museum's Storerooms, inv. 2752-3 (LCS III, 94)	Mothia
95	Sk	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H73.324 (Allegro <i>et al.</i> (eds.) 1976, 286, no. 29, pl. XLV, 10)	Himera
96	Sk	Himera, Antiquarium, inv. H72.119 (Allegro <i>et al.</i> (eds.) 1976, 286, no. 28, pl. XLV,11)	Himera
97	Sk	Erice, Museum's Storerooms, inv. 3844 (de Cesare & Serra 2009, 107, 131, no. 57)	Erice
98	Ky	Current Location unknown (LCS III, p. 92, no. 1, pl. XI, 1-2)	prov. unknown
99	Oi	Randazzo, Archaeological Museum (Spigo 1996b, 60)	Randazzo
100	Oi	Naples, private collection (LCS III, 93, no. 19)	prov. unknown
101	LG	Delft, Rust collection (?) (LCS III, 93, no. 18)	prov. unknown
102	Le	Salerno, inv. 45053 (Maffettone 1999, 91, 104-105, no. 13, figs. 2, 13 and 8, 13)	Elea
103	PS	Agrigento, Archaeological Museum, inv. R210 (LCS, 199, no. 18, pl. 79, 5-6)	Centuripe
104	Fr	Soprintendenza's storerooms (Pautasso 1997, 115, no. II.3, fig. 13)	Paternò
105	Fr	Soprintendenza's storerooms (Pautasso 1997, 115, no. II.4, fig. 14)	Paternò
106	Fr	Soprintendenza's storerooms (Pautasso 1997, 115, no. II.6, fig. 14)	Paternò
107	Fr	Soprintendenza's storerooms (Pautasso 1997, 117, no. II. 14, fig. 14)	Paternò
108	Fr	Soprintendenza's storerooms (Pautasso 1997, 119-120, no. II. 27, fig. 15)	Paternò
109	Fr	Soprintendenza's storerooms (Pautasso 1997, 122, no. II. 39, fig. 16)	Paternò
110	Fr	Soprintendenza's storerooms (Pautasso 1997, 122, no. II. 44, fig. 17)	Paternò

Pl. 3. List of Vases: The Workshop of the Chequer Painter.

■ Post-Trendall attribution  
■ Known provenance

## Bibliographic abbreviations

## Bibliographic Abbreviations

		<i>ArchStorSir</i>	<i>Archivio Storico Siracusano</i>
AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>	ARV <sup>2</sup>	Beazley, J. D. 1963. <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> (2nd edition), Oxford
AAA	<i>Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν</i>	ASAtene	<i>Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente</i>
ABV	Beazley, J. D. 1956, <i>Attic Black-figure Vase-Painters</i> , Oxford	Athenaeum	<i>Athenaeum. Studi di letteratura e storia dell'antichità</i>
AccordiaResP	<i>Accordia Research Papers</i>	AttiMemMagnaGr	<i>Atti e Memorie della Società Magna Grecia</i>
ActaArch	<i>Acta Archaeologica</i>	AttiTaranto	<i>Atti del Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Grecia</i>
ActaHyp	<i>Acta Hyperborea</i>	AW	<i>Antike Welt</i>
Add	Carpenter, T. H., with Mannack, T. and Mendonca, M. 1989, <i>Beazley Addenda</i> , 2nd edition, Oxford	BABesch	<i>Bulletin Antieke Beschaving</i>
ADelt	<i>Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον</i>	BAPD	<i>The Beazley Archive pottery database</i> (www.beazley.ox.ac.uk)
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>	BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
AM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>	BdA	<i>Bullettino d'Arte</i>
AnnAStorAnt	<i>Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica</i>	BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
AnnPisa	<i>Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa</i>	BMetrMus	<i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin</i>
Anodos	<i>Anodos. Studies of the Ancient World</i>	BSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
Antaios	<i>Antaios. Zeitschrift für eine freie Welt</i>	BSR	<i>Papers of the British School in Rome</i>
Antieken aus Bonn		CivClCr	<i>Civiltà Classica e Cristiana</i>
AntK	<i>Antike Kunst</i>	ClAnt	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
ArchCl	<i>Archaeologia Classica</i>	CorVP	Amyx, D. A. 1988, <i>Corinthian Vase-painting of the Archaic Period</i> , Berkeley
ArchEph	<i>Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς</i>	CronA	<i>Cronache di Archeologia</i>
ArchReps	<i>Archaeological Reports</i>	CSE	<i>Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum</i>

CVA	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i>	JHS	<i>The Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
DialA	<i>Dialoghi di Archeologia</i>	JSav	<i>Journal des Savants</i>
EAA	<i>Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica classica e orientale</i>	JWaltersArtGal	<i>The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery</i>
EchosCl	<i>Echos du Monde Classique</i>	Kernos	<i>Kernos. Revue Internationale et Pluridisciplinaire de Religion Grecque Antique</i>
Eikasmos	<i>Eikasmos. Quaderni Bolognesi di Filologia Classica</i>	Kokalos	<i>Kokalos. Studi pubblicati dall'Istituto di storia antica dell'Università di Palermo</i>
Έργον	<i>Έργον της Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας</i>	KölnJb	<i>Kölner Jahrbuch</i>
EtrSt	<i>Etruscan Studies</i>	LCS	Trendall, A. D. & Cambitoglou, A., 1967-, <i>The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily</i> , London
EVP	Beazley, J. D. 1947, <i>Etruscan Vase Painting</i> , Oxford	LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
FR	Furtwängler, A. & Rheinholdt, K. W. 1904-1932, <i>Griechische Vasenmalerei I-VI</i> , Munich	MedArch	<i>Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
FuB	<i>Forschungen und Berichte. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin</i>	MedHistR	<i>Mediterranean Historical Review</i>
GaR	<i>Greece and Rome</i>	MEFRA	<i>Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Antiquité.</i>
GVGetty	<i>Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum</i>	MemAmAc	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>
Hermathena	<i>Hermathena. A Trinity College Dublin Review</i>	Mètis	<i>Mètis. Anthropologie des mondes grecs anciens</i>
Hesperia	<i>Hesperia. Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>	MetrMusJ	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>	Mnemosyne	<i>Mnemosyne. A Journal of Classical Studies</i>
IstMitt	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i>	MonAnt	<i>Monumenti antichi. Serie miscellanea</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>	MonPiot	<i>Monuments et Mémoires. Fondation Eugène Piot</i>
JASc	<i>Journal of Archaeological Science</i>	MüJb	<i>Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst</i>
JdI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>		

<i>Munsell</i>	<i>Munsell Soil Color Charts</i> (1994)	<i>RE</i>	Pauly, A. & Wissowa, G. 1839-, <i>Realencyclopädie der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , Stuttgart
<i>NSc</i>	<i>Notizie degli Scavi</i>		
<i>NumAntCl</i>	<i>Numismatica e antichità classiche. Quaderni ticinesi</i>	<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
<i>Ocnus</i>	<i>Ocnus. Quaderni della Scuola di specializzazione in archeologia</i>	<i>RHistRel</i>	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i>
<i>OIB</i>	<i>Berichte über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia</i>	<i>RM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i>
<i>OpAthRom</i>	<i>Opuscula. Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome</i>	<i>RVAp</i>	A. D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou 1978-, <i>The Red-figured Vases of Apulia</i> , Oxford
<i>Orizzonti</i>	<i>Orizzonti. Rassegna di archeologia</i>	<i>Siris</i>	<i>Siris. Studi e ricerche della Scuola di specializzazione in archeologia di Matera</i>
<i>Ostraka</i>	<i>Ostraka. Rivista di Antichità</i>	<i>SNG</i>	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i>
<i>ÖJh</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien</i>	<i>StAnt</i>	<i>Studi di antichità. Università di Lecce</i>
<i>OxfJA</i>	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>	<i>StEtr</i>	<i>Studi Etruschi</i>
<i>Pallas</i>	<i>Pallas. Revue d'Études Antiques</i>	<i>Studien zur Unteritalischen vasenmalerei</i>	Schauenburg, K. 1999-2011, <i>Studien zur Unteritalischen Vasenmalerei</i> , I-XIV, Kiel
<i>Para</i>	J. D. Beazley, 1974, <i>Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-painters and the Attic Red-figure Vase-painters</i> , Oxford.	<i>Taras</i>	<i>Taras. Rivista di Archeologia</i>
<i>Phoenix</i>	<i>Phoenix. The Journal of the Classical Association of Canada. Revue de la Société canadienne des études classiques</i>	<i>ThESCRA</i>	<i>Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum</i>
<i>PP</i>	<i>La Parola del Passato</i>	<i>Women's Studies</i>	<i>The European Journal of Women's Studies</i>
<i>Prakt</i>	<i>Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας</i>	<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
<i>Prospettiva</i>	<i>Prospettiva. Rivista di Storia dell'Arte Antica e Moderna</i>		
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue Archéologique</i>		

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## List of Authors

## List of Authors

### **ANTHI AGGELI**

33rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and  
Classical Antiquities  
Archaeological Museum of Arta  
Trigono  
GR-47100 Arta  
Greece  
anthiaggeli@gmail.com

### **NIKOS AKAMATIS**

10, M. Alexandrou str.  
GR-57001  
Tagarades  
Greece  
Nikakamatis@Hotmail.com

### **CHRISTINA AVRONIDAKI**

Vases and Minor Arts Collection  
National Archaeological Museum  
1, Tositsa str.  
GR-10682 Athens  
Greece  
gianavro@otenet.gr

### **SEBASTIANO BARRESI**

Via Basile 10  
95124 Catania  
Italy  
seba.barresi@tin.it

### **MARIO A. DEL CHIARO**

University of California  
Santa Barbara  
1376 Estrella Dr.  
Santa Barbara, CA93110  
USA  
madelchiaro@gmail.com

### **DIEGO ELIA**

Dipartimento di Studi Storici  
Università di Torino  
Via Sant'Ottavio 20  
10123 Turin  
Italy  
diego.elia@unito.it

### **MARIACHIARA FRANCESCHINI**

Institut für Klassische Archäologie  
Freie Universität Berlin  
Otto-von-Simson-Straße 11  
14195 Berlin  
Germany  
mchiara.franceschini@yahoo.com

### **KRISTINE GEX**

Ecole suisse d'archéologie en Grèce  
Université de Lausanne  
ASA-Anthropole  
CH-1015 Lausanne  
Switzerland  
Kristine.Gex@unil.ch

### **MAURIZIO HARARI**

Università di Pavia  
Dipartimento di Studi Umanistici  
Palazzo San Tommaso  
Piazza del Lino, 2  
27100 Pavia  
Italy  
ararat@unipv.it

### **KYRIAKI KALLIGA**

9th Ephorate of Prehistoric  
and Classical Antiquities  
Museum of Thebes  
1, Threpsiadou str.  
GR-322 00, Thebes  
Greece  
kikalliga@yahoo.gr

### **IAN MCPHEE**

Trendall Research Centre  
La Trobe University  
Victoria 3086  
Australia  
I.McPhee@latrobe.edu.au

### **LISA C. PIERACCINI**

University of California Berkeley  
Department of Classics  
7233 Dwinelle Hall #2520  
Berkeley, CA 94720-2520  
USA  
cerveteri@gmail.com

### **CLAUDE POUZADOUX**

Centre Jean Bérard  
(USR 3133-CNRS/EFR)  
Via Crispi 86  
80 121 Naples  
Italy  
claud.pouzadoux@cnrs.fr

### **E. G. D. ROBINSON**

University of Sydney  
Department of Archaeology  
Room 705, MacCallum Building A18  
NSW 2006  
Australia  
ted.robinson@sydney.edu.au

### **PIERRE ROUILLARD**

CNRS  
Université Paris-Ouest Nanterre  
UMR 7041, ArScAn, Maison  
Archéologie et Ethnologie  
René-Ginouvès  
21 allée de l'Université  
92023 Nanterre Cedex  
France  
pierre.rouillard@mae.u-paris10.fr

**VICTORIA SABETAI**

Academy of Athens  
 Research Centre for Antiquity  
 14, Anagnostopoulou str.  
 GR-106 73 Athens  
 Greece  
 vsabetai@academyofathens.gr

**STINE SCHIERUP**

Department of Ancient Cultures of  
 Denmark and the Mediterranean  
 The National Museum of Denmark  
 Frederiksholms Kanal 12  
 1220 Copenhagen K  
 Denmark  
 stine.schierup@natmus.dk

**MARCO SERINO**

University of Turin  
 Strada Casa del bosco 15/H  
 12042 Bra (CN)  
 Italy  
 marcoserino@gmail.com

**JUTTA STROSZECK**

Deutsches Archäologisches Institut  
 in Athen  
 Kerameikos Excavation  
 1, Fidiou str.  
 GR-10678 Athens  
 Greece  
 jutta\_stroszeck@hotmail.com

**ALEXANDRA ZAMPITI**

17th Ephorate of Prehistoric  
 and Classical Antiquities  
 16, Aristotelous str.  
 GR-582 00 Edessa  
 Greece  
 azampiti@hotmail.com